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INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

Outcome of India-Pakistan Warfare

Summary

1. In finite military terms India won the September war with Pakistan. India seized the most territory and suffered less relative loss in manpower and materiel. Moreover, when the cease-fire occurred, India was in a much better position to continue the fighting. However, the Indian performance against a much smaller adversary was quite uninspiring--the territory taken was inconsequential, actual military losses were greater than those of Pakistan, and the probable strategic objectives of Lahore and Sialkot were not achieved.

2. In the sense that the Indian position on Kashmir remains unchanged, Pakistan is the political loser as of now. However, Pakistan did achieve its tactical purpose of advertising the Kashmir question. Long-range political victory depends on a variety of unpredictable external military and political pressures. Indeed, there is considerable danger that the war may be resumed at any time.

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Casualties and Gains*

3. Personnel losses on both sides in the recent conflict were relatively light, but in terms of over-all strength Pakistan's losses were the more severe. It is estimated that Pakistan suffered between 3,000 and 5,000 army personnel killed, wounded or captured, from a total army strength of some 189,000. Indian Army losses are assessed as between 4,000 and 6,000 killed, wounded, and captured, from a total strength of 942,000.

4. Pakistan is believed to have lost at least 250 tanks from an inventory of about 900, while Indian tank casualties are estimated to be up to 300 of a total of about 1,500. Aircraft losses on both sides cannot be assessed with any degree of confidence; it would appear that the Pakistani Air Force performed better than the Indian and suffered fewer losses. By the end of the fighting, however, Pakistani air and ground forces were suffering severe shortages of fuel, ammunition, and spare parts.

5. In territorial gains, India has the edge. India claims--probably accurately--to be in possession of 320 square miles of Pakistani territory in the Punjab (the Sialkot and Lahore sectors), but a

*Accurate assessment of casualties and gains is handicapped by the exclusion of Western observers from the battle area and a marked unwillingness on the part of the armed forces of both sides to continue the normal flow of information to US military missions.

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further claim of some 150 square miles of territory in Sind (east of Hyderabad) seems exaggerated. Pakistan occupies about 190 square miles of Indian territory in southern Kashmir (the Chhamb sector) and about 20 square miles in the Indian Punjab (around Khem Keran). In addition, it holds some posts across the boundary in the Indian state of Rajasthan (opposite Sind). While these figures put India in the better position, they do not take into account the continued presence in Indian Kashmir of at least 3,000 Pakistani-backed infiltrators who began their intrusions across the cease-fire line in early August and who continue to constitute a major security threat there.

Political Considerations

6. In terms of political objectives gained, Pakistan has succeeded in its intent, after years of frustration, to focus international attention on the Kashmir problem. However, given India's continued adamancy against negotiating or voting a change in the status of Kashmir, Pakistan appears to have fallen far short of its ultimate goal of removing Kashmir from Indian control.

7. In addition, there are increasing rumblings of discontent in Pakistan over the lack of real progress toward wresting Kashmir from India. This discontent is heightened by the fact that the government publicized the battles as a series of Pakistani victories, therefore making it difficult for the public mind to understand a government agreement to a cease-fire without having achieved the ultimate goal of Kashmir. There have also been signs of disillusionment in the army over the results of President Ayub's policies.

8. In India, the popular mood at the moment is one of satisfaction at having established the superiority of Indian military might over the Pakistanis. The conflict is viewed as having redressed the poor Indian performance against the Chinese Communists in 1962 and against the Pakistanis in the Rann of Kutch episode earlier this year. Prime Minister Shastri's position has been strengthened, at least for the

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present, and the government's intransigence over the Kashmir issue reinforced.

Conclusion

9. Over-all, then, India seems at this point to have emerged from the recent conflict in the better position. Given its numerically superior forces and its wider range of military equipment and reserve supplies from a variety of sources, it can more easily than Pakistan absorb its casualties and losses of equipment. India's larger area of captured territory places it in a better bargaining position, and the morale of the Indian Government and armed forces has risen. The political and economic repercussions of the conflict have yet to be felt in their full severity, however, and there is a distinct possibility that they may be compounded by further fighting if the current cease-fire violations escalate.

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